

THE FIERY FURNACE BY DAN BERRIGAN, PAGE 1

# HIROSHIMA

60 YEARS OF U.S. NUCLEAR TERROR

60TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIROSHIMA & NAGASAKI BOMBINGS







#### NUCLEAR TERROR

VANDENBERG AIR FORCE BASE

### **VIOLATING HOLY GROUND**

by DENNIS APEL

he Catholic Worker house in Guadalupe sits just at the northern boundary of Vandenberg Air Force Base. The southern boundary of the base is some 50 miles away. It is a huge base and encompasses some of the most beautiful coastline California has to offer—holy ground stolen from the Chumash Indians many years ago. When Vandenberg tests one of our intercontinental ballistic missiles, which it does as often as nine times a year, we cannot only see it and hear it, but we can feel it as well. The vibration rattles the house.

There are 14 underground missile silos just over the hill from us, from which the base fires Minuteman III or Peacekeeper missiles whose dummy warheads are targeted to land in Kwajalein Afoll, some 4,200 miles southwest in the Pacific Ocean. The trip takes a total of 20 minutes. The cost is \$50 million per test. Two of the silos on the base are now dedicated for the National Missile Defense program and have Interceptor missiles deployed, but not operational. In fact, the Missile Defense program is the first program in our nation's history to have been deployed without having been successfully tested. Not only have tests been met with failure, but most scientists outside of the Pentagon claim that the system will never work.

At the south end of the base are above-ground launch platforms from which the base launches satellites into polar orbit. Some satellites are commercial; many are military. The satellites used by the military for surveillance, targeting of cruise missiles and smart bombs, communications, and global positioning are monitored by the Joint Space Operations Center on base, which collects the data from these satellites and feeds the information out to operations around the globe, from the war in Iraq and Afghanistan to covert operations in Colombia and Iran.

With the launching of its missiles and rockets, the base has contaminated both the pristine coastline and the ground water with aluminum perchlorate, an ingredient of rocket fuel known to cause disease of the thyroid. At our free clinic here at the house we have had six cases of thyroid disease. While a direct connection would be impossible to prove, the fact of perchlorate pollution by the base has been well documented.

Future plans for the base include testing of the Theater Missile Defense system, which involves putting high-energy lasers in the nose of a 747 jet aircraft which would then be deployed to fly 24/7 within striking distance of an enemy nation with the intention of destroying an ICBM launched from that country before it could reach space. Meanwhile, Missile Defense tests are slated to be increased to 45 launches a year.

While programs such as these are carried out at Vandenberg to the tune of billions of dollars, its closest neighbor to the north, Guadalupe, is a stark example of a community betrayed by the unjust and misguided priorities of a government which places power, domination, and corporate greed above basic human needs. Poverty, lack of quality education, lack of adequate healthcare and the pollution of the environment are all by-products of a system designed for death and destruction. And that system visits its evil on the innocent and powerless of not only other nations but ours as well. Imagine asking God to bless this!  $\Omega$ 

Dennis Apel is a member of the Catholic Worker in Guadalupe, California and is engaged in on-going resistance against Vandenberg.

Berrigan, continued from p.1 joined, in order that—against all promises and cajoling and stroking of citizens—something simple and final may proceed; enormous crimes, murder on a grand scale.

Artwork by Jacob Brown

The specifications of the statue are joined closely to its purpose. The height and girth of the image designedly suggest (and more than suggest) the triumph, the conquest, the empery of this god. Nebuchadnezzar, we are told, was literally the conqueror the world—to modernize his entitlement—"the leader of the

most powerful nation on earth."

The statue is designed to tower above mere mortals, to dwarf and deflate, to rebuke those devoted to other, lesser gods. More. In creating an image of invincibility, a truly Olympian image, not just any material can be thought suitable. Its material must convey an unchallenged superiority. The statue must be ofgold. Only thus will the matter be worthy of the form. The bowels of the world must be harrowed for their elusive residue, gold. Then quality and scope will be one, and the image stand-menacing, immortal, daunting! Gold; whose current translation is perhaps, oil?

Our story proceeds. The image is raised, the worship proceeds. Blasphemous indeed, if only to the appalled few, the faithful ones. Daniel and his companions, youths, we are told, captive exiles, assess the scene, the image, the imperial summons. They are few; against them stands the world conqueror and his minions. They decide to resist, unto death.

Thereby they narrow, first of all for themselves, the seemingly boundless choices open to worshipers of the golden image.

"Monotheists," someone has written, "have but one choice, and only one. And having made it, they leave themselves with no other god to deploy against the One they have chosen or been chosen by. The attraction of polytheism, on the other hand, is this; it widens every choice; it imposes no limitation."

Concerning our story and its lonely protagonists, a commentator concludes with a kind of irony, "To embrace the image of the 'other gods' would of course have saved the lives of the three youths."

This frail trinity of resisters is summoned; to a purpose, it goes without saying, beyond that of the king. For the beleaguered faithful of later and hardly better times, who told and retold the story, the summons of the king has the character of a vocation, a revelation—and this ironically issuing from polluted lips.

Other kings will summon other believers to the dock; the harsh eitheror. The story never ends. Therefore it must be told and told again, lest the community lose its moorings, and fall to an idolatrous obedience.

But as to our youths. They are alone, this trio; they face the king. His visage, we learn from other epi-

sodes of the book of Daniel, is apt to turn sturdy knees to water.

They are young, and no one stands with them. It is one thing to assert a principle, say, in a crowd, and *sotto voce*—or even, if one so chooses, stridently. The crowd supplies a cover; one need fear no reprisal for speaking up, cacophony serves to drown out a solitary conscience.

But here we have something else; a kind of courtroom, an immediate confrontation, three youths—and his fearsome eminence. The king presumably has a sovereign interest, apt to turn irascible. His bizarre liturgy must proceed on schedule.

What to make then, of this inexplicable refusal, this utterly unexpected NO? Daniel and his companions refuse to bow before the great golden image, the king's ego enthroned, hungering for adulation.

The story, in the inelegant phrase of Camus, is about paying up. Our protagonists must face the panoply of an enormous, seemingly irresistible power. (Who was it boasted in the flush of military crime, "The Third Reich will endure for a thousand years!"? Something like that.)

Some of us have had a rather ample experience in these matters of serving or not serving the idols. We eight of the first Plowshares group, 1980, refused to bow before the image, the Mark 12-A, a first-strike nuclear weapon, designed to initiate

a nuclear war.

We were summoned before a kind of latter day (dare one say) nuclear Nebuchadnezzar.

Our crime was this. We entered a General Electric factory in Pennsylvania, and symbolically transformed a nuclear sword into a plowshare. Our act was an overt refusal to worship at the nuclear shrine which authorities had raised, not just in that awful place, but all about the planet.

So it appeared that like the three youths, we eight (by no means youthful!) must pay up.

In our story, the king himself repeats the earlier edict—worship the image, or die by fire. More, he utters a scornful taunt; what conceivable god would rescue you from the fires of the divine N? The words sound horrific, omnipotent; "What deity would enter the lists on your behalf, against such a world class hellion as myself, a proven god?"

Like all such assertions, the words mask a great weakness, fragility. According to this self-crowned deity, the pantheon is understood as an unending contest or competition. The gods circle one another warily, in a kind of bear pit. And in the contest, the most violent gods commonly prevail (as do the most violent humans).

Thus the king brings to a scarcely bearable tension the forces that continue to rack us humans; greed, pride of place, the proving ground where would-be gods strive mightily for hegemony.

In King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, and in many another hamlet, a great golden idol stands. Nebuchadnezzar lives. In us.

The three youths venture an answer to the king's taunt. Their words are chastening, abrupt. I read them, I am put to shame by a faith that risks the furnace. They speak the language of the either-or of Kierkegaard. In effect, do your worst; you may kill us or not, as you choose. And if by chance you spare us, know; we will not for that worship your gods.

I am reminded of the multiple choices (the temptations really) presented by tyrants throughout history, choices subtle or fierce, designed to make a peace of sorts with the intolerable.

Franz Jägerstätter, the Austrian peasant who was eventually beheaded by Hitler, endured such a gauntlet of choices. He refused military induction. Immediately a veritable squadron of churchmen [sic], including his own bishop, descended on him in jail. They excoriated him for his decision, assured him that if he were morally correct in refusing induction, surely the church authorities would have so instructed him. (They were in fact, one and all, collaborators,)

A further phase followed, another temptation. It was a proffer; this curious Christian resister, husband and father, need not bear arms. He could join a medical team, succoring the wounds of combatants.

It was all the same to Jägerstätter. What difference did it make, this bearing arms or not: If he yielded, he would be forced into the uniform, he would sustain his family with blood money, he would serve vile ends. He refused. And he paid up.

I commend this Christian to you, and to my own soul. He is one of those few who stop in its tracks the train of logic that leads to death of the spirit, a ruinous adjustment to official crime.

In such adjustments, the first victim is of course ourselves. We trade continued on p.6



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Some nuclear weapons experts say privately that it is not a question of if but when the attack will happen.

□ AL QAEDA PLANNING A "HIROSHIMA" 🗀

# AGAINST AMERICA

Pervez Hoodbhoy is a member of the Pugwash Council and is a professor of nuclear and high-energy physics at Quaid-e-azam University in Islamabad, Pakistan. The following article first appeared in the Los Angeles Times on July 10, 2005.

by PERVEZ HOODBHOY

ne wonders what Osama bin Laden and his ilk learned from Hiroshima. The decision to incinerate the Japanese city and another, Nagasaki, was not taken in anger. White men in gray business suits and military uniforms, after much deliberation, decided that the United States could not give the Japanese any warning, that although it could not concentrate on a civilian area, it should seek to make a profound psychological impression on as many inhabitants as possible. They argued that it would be cheaper in American lives to release the nuclear genie.

Crowds gathered in Times Square to celebrate: there were fewer of the enemy left. Rarely are victors encumbered by remorse. Declared President Truman: "When you have to deal with a beast, you have to treat him as a beast. It is most regrettable but nevertheless true."

Not surprisingly, six decades later, even U.S. liberals remain ambivalent on the morality of nuking the two Japanese cities. But terrorists are not ambivalent.

The New York Times reported that before the September 11 attacks, the United States had intercepted an Al Qaeda message that Bin Laden was planning a "Hiroshima" against America. In a later taped message, released before the U.S. attack on Afghanistan, Bin Laden said, "When people at the ends of the Earth, Japan, were killed by the hundreds of thousands, young and old, it was not considered a war crime; it is something that has justification."

In a recent televised debate between myself and Hameed Gul—an influential Islamist leader, retired general, and former head of Pakistan's powerful intelligence agency—my opponent snarled at me: "Your masters [the Americans] will nuke us Muslims just as they nuked Hiroshima. People like you want to denuclearize and disarm us in the face of a savage beast set to devour the world."

Gul then vented his anger at those—like myself—who opposed Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. He sees us as agents of America, apostates and enemies of Islam and the Pakistani state.

This extremist general was making a point that resonates around the globe. The United States has bombed more than a dozen countries since 1948, and recently killed tens of thousands on the pretext of chasing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. It claims to be a force for democracy and the rule of law despite a long history of supporting the bloodiest of dictators, rejecting the international Criminal Court, and continuing to develop nuclear weapons.

But the nuclear monopoly is breaking down. The making of atomic





LACW Summer Interns join over 200 anti-nuclear activists for a vigil and civil disobedience action at the Nevada Nuclear Test Site. Left to right: Bob Beckett, Viola Engels, Thi Trinh, Elizabeth Boren, Elizabeth Henricks, and Jacob Brown.

weapons—especially crude ones—has become vastly simpler than at the time of the Manhattan Project. Basic information is freely available in technical libraries throughout the world, and surfing the Internet can bring anyone a staggering amount of

Advanced textbooks and monographs contain details that can enable reasonably competent scientists and engineers to come up with "quick and dirty" designs for nuclear explosives. The physics of nuclear explosions can be readily taught to graduate students.

By stealing fissile materials in the thousands of former Soviet bombs marked for disassembly, or even a fraction of the vast amounts of highly enriched uranium and separated plutonium in research reactors and storage sites the world over, it is unnecessary to go through complex processes for uranium enrichment or plutonium reprocessing.

Anger in Muslim countries at the United States has never been higher. The desire for an atomic weapon to seek vengeance—utterly immoral, foolish, and suicidal though it be—is becoming ever more popular.

The notion of an "Islamic bomb" existed long before September 11. Addressing posterity from his death

cell in a Rawalpindi Jail, where he would be hanged two years later, former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the architect of Pakistan's nuclear program, wrote in 1977: "We know that Israel and South Africa have full nuclear capability. The Christian, Jewish, and Hindu civilizations have this capability. The communist powers also possess it. Only the Islamic civilization was without it, but that position was about to change."

Addressing an Islamic conference in Tehran in 1992, the Iranian vice president, Sayed Ayatollah Mahajerani, said, "Since Israel continues to possess nuclear weapons, we, the Muslims, must cooperate to produce an atomic bomb, regardless of U.N. efforts to prevent proliferation."

In the celebrations following Pakistan's 1998 nuclear tests, the decades-old religious party Jamaat-e-Islami paraded bombs and missile replicas through the streets of Pakistani cities. It saw in the bomb a sure sign of a reversal of fortunes and a panacea for the ills that have plagued Muslims since the end of the Golden Age of Islam. In 2000, I captured on video the statements of leaders of jihadist, right-wing political parties in Pakistan who also demanded a

bomb for Islam.

It is impossible, however, to conceive of any Muslim state risking retaliation by declaring that it has an Islamic bomb that would be used for defense of the *ummah*—the Islamic community of believers—against the United States or Israel. The danger of a nuclear conflict comes from radicalized individuals within the states.

Although Pakistan's military government insisted that there was no danger of any of its nuclear weapons being taken for a ride by some radical Islamic group, it wasn't taking any chances. Shortly after the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan began in October 2001, several weapons were reportedly airlifted to safer, isolated locations within the country, including the northern mountainous area of Gilgit.

This nervousness was not unjustified—two strongly Islamist generals of the Pakistan army, close associates of General Pervez Musharraf, had just been removed. Dissatisfaction within the army concerning Pakistan's betrayal of the Taliban was (and is) deep. Almost overnight, under intense U.S. pressure, the Pakistan government had disowned its progeny and agreed to wage a war of annihilation against it.

Fears about Pakistan's nuclear weapons were compounded by revelations that a high-ranking nuclear engineer, Bashiruddin Mahmood, and a materials specialist, Chaudhry Abdul Majid, had journeyed several times into Afghanistan in 2000. Both scientists espouse radical Islamic views. Mahmood had even been photographed with Bin Laden.

photographed with Bin Laden.
Today, the United States lives in fear of the bomb it created, because the decision to use it has already been made. Pious men with beards will decide when and where on U.S. soil atomic weapons are to be used. Shadowy groups, propelled by fanatical hatreds, scour the globe for materials. They are not in a hurry. Time is on their side. They are doubtless confident they will one day breach Fortress America.

The possibilities for nuclear attack are not limited to the so-called suit-case bomb stolen from the arsenal of a nuclear state. In fact, getting and exploding such a bomb is far more difficult than the use of improvised nuclear devices fabricated from highly enriched uranium, constructed in the very place where they will eventually be detonated. Still more likely is an attack on a vulnerable nuclear reactor or spent fuel repository.

Some nuclear weapons experts say privately that it is not a question of if but when the attack will happen.

This may be too pessimistic, but tighter policing and monitoring of nuclear materials (and rapid reduction of stockpiles) and nuclear weapons knowledge must be the first step. There should not be the slightest delay in moving on this. But this is far from sufficient.

If nuclear weapons continue to be accepted by nuclear weapon states as legitimate instruments of deterrence of war, their global proliferation—

continued on p.6



I think that the only sensible policy is to be very serious about nuclear abolition. Nuclear weapons pose the only real risk to complete annihilation of the human race. They cannot be used in a way that can be controlled ... It is naïve to think that we can go forward without nuclear abolition—we will blow ourselves to shreds otherwise. The realists are those who say that we must abolish nuclear weapons; the crackpot idealists are those who think that we can survive as a species with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons.

# NUCLEAR ABOLITION: THE KEY TO SURVIVAL

## INTERVIEW WITH DAN HIRSCH

Dan Hirsch, director of the Committee to Bridge the Gap, is the only anti-nuclear activist to have actually shut down not one, not two, but three nuclear facilities. Though he is merely a "lay scientist," he consistently exposes the lies of his adversaries in the nuclear industry, who mistakenly believe that he is the well-funded agent of environmentally-sensitive Hollywood stars. Dan only wishes that it were so!

Agitator: It has been sixty years since the bombing of Hiroshima. Many of us had hoped that the cry "Hiroshima never again!" might actually be possible. Do you think that's the case?

Dan: It is a distant dream. At the time of Hiroshima, there were a total of three nuclear weapons. They detonated the first at Trinity, the second at Hiroshima, the third at Nagasaki. Slowly that number increased and increased, and today, though many people think the problem has gone away, the United States alone has about 10,000 nuclear

In some sense, with the demise of the Soviet Union, the risks of all-out nuclear war are clearly lower than they were in the midst of the Cold War. But the risk of nuclear weapons being used is greater today than it has ever been since the Cuban missile crisis—more and more countries have them and our own policies are stimulating countries to acquire nuclear weapons—and the bar between using conventional weapons and escalating to nuclear weapons continues to drop. In fact, the United States proposes to develop a new generation of nuclear weapons called 'bunker busters" for use in a conventional war against an adversary that does not possess nuclear weapons.

These developments—the policy of preemptive strike, the acquisition of a new generation of weapons, the holding on to vast numbers of nuclear weapons, and eliminating the non-proliferation restraints that we've had through treaty—all produce the greatest risk we've had in four decades that nuclear weapons will actually be used.

Agitator: Could you comment on Hiroshima? I think many Americans, as we face the 60th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, assume that the bombing was necessary to end World War II. What is your reflection on that?

Dan: We need to focus on the bombing of two non-military cities an attack against civilians that was motivated by a mix of pressures. One was to try to end the war as quickly as possible on American terms. The second was, as Gar Aplanowitz and a number of other scholars have pointed out, a reckless desire to prevent the Soviets from coming into the Japanese War and carving up territory for themselves, and also to send a signal to Stalin that the United States had this huge power. And I think additionally the American military wanted to demonstrate to the whole world that we had this weapon and that these weapons would give us increased power over the rest of the world in the post-war

At the end of the day, I think there is no question that the dropping of the bomb on Nagasaki was without the slightest bit of ethical defense, and I think that the vast preponderance of the evidence indicates that the arguments regarding the dropping of the Hiroshima bomb have little weight. In addition to killing hundreds of thousands of civilians, with the bombing we entered into a new world and that world is one that can mean the end of the human race.

I do want to say that the conventional war carried out against Japanese cities was immoral as well. The fire-bombing of Japanese cities in the weeks preceding Hiroshima killed, essentially by frying, hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians. This is one of the untold stories of the Second World War.

**Agitator:** Dorothy Day, the founder of the Catholic Worker, said that the Allies didn't win the war-it was the spirit of Nazism that won the war. Dan: It is impossible to engage in violence without becoming changed, becoming more like the adversary that you are fighting. Only nonviolence gives you the opportunity to, in fact, both remain true to your principles and give your adversary the chance to wake up ethically as well. It is not just that violence kills your adversary—it's that violence kills something absolutely precious inside vourself.

Agitator: Since the Sixties, we had been moving toward the elimination of nuclear weapons as a stated goal of all governments, but that seems not to be the case anymore. It seems we've entered a new era...

Dan: The [Nuclear] Nonproliferation Treaty, for example, contains in it Article 6, which mandates that the (then) nuclear powers commit themselves to the abolition of nuclear weapons, to aggressive attempts to eliminate nuclear weapons. And in exchange for that, the non-nuclear nations in the world committed themselves to not trying to obtain such weapons. Neither side has really complied with those obligations. But this non-compliance has gotten much more extreme during the current Bush administration, which has a tremendous hostility toward treaties and towards arms control in general, and views breaking these restraints as its mission. It is not hard to understand that when we break out of our treaty obligations, we have very little ability to argue that other nations should

comply with their obligations. Just recently, the United States, in contravention of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act, has proposed rewarding India for its development of nuclear weapons by selling it nuclear power technology, when our principle for decades had been that we would penalize nations that attempted to develop nuclear weapons. That sends a signal to Iran and North Korea—both Pakistan and India were able to become nuclear weapons states with no significant consequences to themselves. Iran and North Korean see that message and



see that the only way to prevent an attack, given our current unilateral intervention position, is to have nuclear weapons. It is indeed a leveling force.

Agitator: Other countries, like Iran and North Korea, would see having nuclear weapons as the only means of preventing an invasion on the part of the United States?

Dan: Yes, and they are not being irrational in viewing it that way. They see that the United States threatened to invade Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. They know that this "axis of evil" rhetoric is something real and that the American administration would like to overthrow them if they could, and that, given the preponderance of American conventional military might, they need a force equalizer. That's what nuclear weapons are, in many people's view.

Agitator: Could you articulate the

Agitator: Could you articulate the grand strategy of the Bush Administration as it relates to China and nuclear weapons?

Dan: The current administration wants the U.S. to be the absolutely unchallenged military force in the world and to exercise unchallenged economic and political power. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States basically wishes to exercise what we used to call hegemony—absolute power over all other countries. They want all other countries to fear us—to accept the lesson of the invasion of Iraq.

China—the U.S. regards China as the emerging economic power house of the world and certainly wants to restrain that. And what helps us restrain that is this massive nuclear arsenal. The Chinese have less than twenty long-range nuclear-tipped missiles that could hit the United States. They've had the same num-

These developments—the policy of preemptive strike, the acquisition of a new generation of weapons, the holding on to vast numbers of nuclear weapons, and eliminating the nonproliferation restraints that we've had through treaty—all produce the greatest risk we've had in four decades that nuclear weapons will



ber for decades and they're of an archaic design. For some remarkable reason, the Chinese, to date, have been quite restrained in developing a

much larger nuclear weapons force.

But if we fail because of stupid policies to keep the Korean peninsula from becoming nuclearized with North Korean weapons...There is an outrageous dictatorship in North Korea, but our stupid policies have been exacerbating their desire for weapons. And if that happens, the Japanese will feel a strong need to eliminate their decades-long tradition against developing nuclear weapons. South Korea as well. The moment you have the South Koreans and the Japanese with large numbers of nuclear weapons, China will then feel the need to develop much larger numbers of nuclear weapons. Then India will feel a need to expand its nuclear arsenal...Pakistan will then respond with an increase of its own. And then neighboring countries such as Indonesia will feel tremendous pressure. I don't think anyone really realizes the extent to which this can be a chain reaction. Our government is exercising a very short-sighted policy.

Agitator: What would be the alternative to the policies that seem to be promoting a new nuclear arms race?

Dan: I think that the only sensible policy is to be very serious about nuclear abolition. Nuclear weapons pose the only real risk to complete annihilation of the human race. They cannot be used in a way that can be controlled.

**Agitator:** What would be the steps in that direction that you would see as essential?

Dan: We should immediately start reducing our own arsenal, [and]

continued on p.6

## STOPPING TERRORISM

John Dear, SJ, is a Catholic priest, peace activist, and coordinator of Pax Christi New Mexico. He is the author/editor of 20 books on peace and nonviolence. The following article was first published on July 10, 2005 by commondreams.org.

by JOHN DEAR, SJ

As I watch U.S. news reporters and commentators, I am amazed at their lack of understanding. Half the world believes that the United States is *the* leading terrorist today, but our public spokespeople remain clueless about what is really going on.

We are seen as terrorists by many around the globe because we bombed and killed 100,000 people in Iraq in 2003, and because we have over 20,000 weapons of mass destruction (many of them near my own neighborhood in New Mexico), which we are quite willing to use on any nation that does not support "U.S. interests."

Our wars and bombing raids and hostility toward the world's poor are turning the world against us. We are breeding thousands of new terrorists, desperate poor people who have nothing to lose, whose backs are up against the wall, and who have learned from our total violence to adopt the lunacy of violence, even suicidal violence—to strike back, blow up trains and buses, and spend their very lives spreading fear.

Like many, I was upset about the horrific terrorist attacks in London on July 7.

However, I am equally upset by the ongoing U.S. terrorist attacks on Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, and elsewhere. My heart breaks with every report of the hundreds of nameless people who die from our bombs, our weapons, our soldiers.

For me, then, the question, "How to Stop Terrorism?" is easy. We stop terrorism first of all by stopping our own terrorism! We cannot end terrorism by using the methods of terrorism to bomb and kill Iraqis, to occupy Iraq, to support the terrorist occupation of the Palestinians, and to hold the entire world hostage with our nuclear weapons.

We must bring the troops home from Iraq, fund nonviolent democratic peacemakers in Iraq, send food and medicine to Iraq, support United Nations' nonviolent peacemaking solutions, end world hunger immediately, cut all U.S. military aid everywhere, dismantle every one of our nuclear weapons, fund jobs, education, and healthcare at home and abroad, clean up the environment, and teach nonviolence to everyone amound the world, beginning at home in every U.S. classroom.

Violence cannot stop violence. We have to break the cycle of violence, renounce violence, start practicing creative active nonviolence on a level that the world has never seen, and reach out to embrace the world's poor by meeting their every need. Then, we will win over the world, and no one will ever want to hurt a Westerner again.

While I reject violence and espouse nonviolence, I know that most Americans support, even relish, violence. "Anything for God and Country," they say. If Americans really believe in violence and "justified" warfare, then why be surprised and upset when people turn against the U.S. and our allies in acts of terrorism? Why are people who espouse violence, including most Americans, most of our TV commentators, most of our government officials, yes, even most of our church people, so upset about these terrorist attacks, when they themselves support terrorism upon sisters and brothers elsewhere on the planet?

I do not understand our love of violence. If you want other people to be nonviolent, you first have to be nonviolent. If you want to remove the speck from someone else's eye, you have to remove the two-by-four from your own head. If you want other nations to hold you in high regard, you first have to hold other nations in high regard, and treat every human being on the planet as a sister and brother. As someone once said, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." That is the answer to the nightmare of terrorism.

On August 6, thousands of us across the country will remember that the United States vaporized 140,000 innocent, ordinary people sixty years ago in Hiroshima, Japan, in the ultimate act of nuclear terrorism. That morning, hundreds of us will converge on Los Alamos, New Mexico, the birthplace of the bomb, and citing the book of Jonah, we will put on sackcloth and ashes, repent for the sin of war and nuclear weapons, and beg the God of peace for the disarmament of the world.

That afternoon, I will fly to Las Vegas to join over five hundred people of faith in a three-day interfaith peace conference, where I will speak. Then we will drive out to the Nevada Test Site, where hundreds of us will commit civil disobedience by walking onto the Test Site and getting arrested in a peaceful demand that they close this U.S. nuclear terrorist training camp. I hope everyone, everywhere, will stand up in protest against nuclear terrorism on August 6.

How do we stop terrorism? Renounce every trace of violence in your heart and in your life. Adopt the wisdom and practice of active nonviolence, as Gandhi and Dr. King taught. Beg the God of peace for the gift of peace. Join your local peace and justice group. Stand up publicly for an end to war. Let your life be disrupted and take a new, nonviolent risk for disarmament. Create new cells of active nonviolence. Embrace the religious roots of nonviolence. Study and teach the wisdom of nonviolence. Resist your local military and government violence. Stop business as usual, government as usual, media as usual, war as usual, and demand peace, justice and disarmament for the whole world, now. Announce the vision of a new nonviolent world, a discontinued on p.6

#### 60 YEARS OF NUCLEAR TERROR

by DAVID GARDNER

n Monday, July 11, I turned myself in to the U.S. Marshal's Service in order to begin my 48-hour jail sentence at the Metropolitan Detention Center (MDC) in downtown Los Angeles. I received this sentence as a result of my participation in an act of civil disobedience on the morning of March 16, marking the second anniversary of the war in Iraq.

Despite the shortness of my sentence, I would not be telling you the truth if I didn't admit that I was scared, even terrified. Jails, even federal jails, are horrible institutions which dehumanize people and strip them of their dignity every moment of their imprisonment.

However, I was lucky. I only had two days and I figured I could do anything for just two days.

quickly learned that most of my fellow inmates had trials pendingthey were sitting in jail while technically presumed to be innocent. Most of them were facing the possibility of several years of imprisonment. My short sentence stood out in stark con-

One of the first people I met was James. I met him in a holding tank in the basement of the jail. James was shaped like a refrigeratoraround 300 lbs, about 6 ft tall—and he looked very angry. Needless to say, I didn't want to get on his nerves too much, so I avoided engaging him in conversation.

The other person in the tank, however, was a man picked up on a narcotics violation, and he still seemed high to me. Interestingly enough, he didn't seem to see James as I did, and he began engaging him in conversa-

At this point, I realized that James was not only angry, but also very crazy. He quickly launched into a very detailed and involved story about how the senator from his home state of Missouri was harassing him by repeatedly calling him on the phone, and how he had letters from Tom Delay, former President Bill Clinton, and California Senator Bar-



Catherine Morris & David Gardner pictured here received sentences of seven and two days respectively, for a civil disobedience action marking the second anniversary of the war in Iraq. David's reflection on his time at MDC follows.

# GOING TO

bara Boxer to prove it. The story went on from there and involved the FBI and the State of Missouri Insurance Commissioner as well...But the point is, in reality, that James was flown, at tax-payer expense, to MDC, because it had a psychiatrist trained in determining if federal defendants are mentally competent to stand trail.

Now, I am no psychiatrist, but it was very obvious that James needed help. But jail is, quite simply, the op-

posite of therapy.

Later, while I was being escorted to my deluxe federal accommodations, I met another inmate, a short Sri Lankan man whom the guard referred to as "Johnny Miller." It turns out his name was Pannambalam Ramanathan. However, it was so difficult to pronounce that many of the guards simply knew him as Johnny Miller.

Since most of the inmates had been at MDC for quite some time and the federal government had no plan to release them any time soon, most of the games of dominoes, spades, and rummy were already well-established, with players who sit at the same table on a daily basis. Since Johnny was the only Sri Lankan in our pod and his English skills were not good, not too many people were waiting in line to play cards with him.

After quickly impressing him with my only word in the Tamil language—vanakkam—which means

"hello," the conversation over our brief game of rummy was a bit stunted. He didn't appear to enjoy the game too much, and though I tried to let him win to keep him interested in the game, he was simply bad

I did learn that he was being held at MDC pending an asylum hearing. His home in Sri Lanka was completely swept away by the recent tsu-nami that devastated the small island, already suffering the effects of a civil war. The ironically sad twist to the story is that Pannambalam didn't even want to stay in the U.S. He was caught while making his way up to Canada where he has relatives in Toronto. He must first obtain asylum in the U.S. in order to apply for asylum in Canada. If his asylum is rejected, he will be immediately deported back to Sri Lanka.

My cellmate turned out to be Roberto, a young Latino. At 18, Roberto was the youngest guy in our pod. Like so many youth in the penal system, Robert was in jail on a drug-related charge. He never directly denied the charge, and his youthfulness and the fact that he had already spent time in a county jail made his situation truly depressing. It was hard for me to envision a future for Roberto that did not involve a considerable amount of time behind bars.

In fact, while in a holding cell in

the Marshal's station, I met Roberto's future. Chris was a 41-year-old African American man from a neighborhood in South Central Los Angeles that he described simply as a "jungle." Although only 41 years old, Chris confessed to me that he had already spent a total of 16 years of his life behind bars.

Like many of the people I met in jail, Chris was a nice guy, and, despite an annoying tendency to suck on his teeth, he was quite charming. Chris' offense was that he felt the need to own a gun for his protection. Of course, as an ex-con, this was illegal. So he bought his gun, which turned out to be stolen, off the street.

After being caught, he served a year in state prison. After his release, the Marshals were waiting at the prison doors to take him into federal custody. Although he hadn't stolen the gun himself, new charges of gun trafficking were being filed in federal

As an ex-con who had already served time for the offense in state prison, he had little choice but to plead guilty. Chris was sentenced to five years. Chris told me that his wife, a mother to four children, had a breakdown after his sentencing, and that he had cried while watching the sun rise after a long sleepless night.

These are just a few of the people I met during my short stay in MDC. There are many people like Chris, Roberto, James, and Pannambalam currently incarcerated in this country, where over two million people live behind bars.

The things we do at the Los Angeles Catholic Worker—such as standing up against war and the death penalty, working at the soup kitchen, and providing hospitality in our homemay seem unrelated at first. However, our resistance to war and the practices of our criminal justice system is a service to the poor, and by offering hospitality, we are planting the seeds of an alternative way of life that follows the ways of Jesus and not the ways of war and injustice.  $\Omega$ 

David Gardner is a member of the *LACW* and an editor of the Agitator.

Dear, continued from p.5 armed world, a world without war, poverty, injustice, or nuclear weapons. Explain how such a world is possible, if we give our lives for it, demand it, insist on it, work for it, and begin to live it.  $\Omega$ 

Hirsch, continued from p.5 working with the Russians, the British, the French...It would mean being even-handed when we say we don't want nuclear weapons in the Mid East—that we no longer turn a blind eye to the 100 Israeli nuclear weapons. We say we are concerned about nuclear weapons in Asia. We would not turn a blind eye to what India and Pakistan have done. **Agitator:** Do you think it is naïve to talk about nuclear disarmament to-

**Dan:** It is naïve to think that we can go forward without it-we will blow ourselves to shreds otherwise. The realists are those who say that we must abolish nuclear weapons; the crackpot idealists are those who think that we can survive as a species with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons.  $\Omega$ 

Hoodbhoy, continued from p.3 whether by other states or non-state actors—can only be slowed at best. Coercive nonproliferation will only serve to drive up demand. Nonproliferation by cooperation and consent

cannot succeed as long as the United States insists on retaining and improving its nuclear arsenal. By what reasonable argument can others be persuaded to give up, or not acquire, nuclear weapons?

So what will happen when religious fanatics succeed in a nuclear attack? The world shall plunge headlong into a bottomless abyss of reaction and counter-reaction in a horror the human mind cannot comprehend.

Who will the United States retaliate against? Will the United States nuke Mecca? The capitals of Muslim states? What will the United States and its allies do as their people fear more attacks? Will they expel Muslims from the United States and Europe, or herd them into internment camps as was done to Japanese Americans in World War II? Hiroshima signaled a failure of humankind, not just of the United States. The growth of technology has far outstripped our ability to use it wisely. Like a quarrelling group of monkeys on a leaky boat armed with sticks of dynamite, we are embarked on an uncertain journey.

Humanity's best chance of survival lies in creating taboos against the manufacture of nuclear weaponssuch as those that already exist for chemical an biological weaponsand to work rapidly toward their global elimination.  $\Omega$ 

Berrigan, continued from p.2 our souls, our human sense, our compassion, our love for one another, our verve of spirit. For what?

Wall Street, nuclear installations, mighty towers of trade, vast luxury installations—these might well stand as contemporary superhuman, golden, idolatrous, images-of what? Of the superhuman claim of the god Mammon and his brother-inarms, Mars.

Something else may be occurring, something other than the all but universal adoration of the pseudo-god. There are, let us rejoice, a few who

We are told finally that a mysterious fourth being walked the furnace with the three youths. The king saw this figure dimly, it brought him consternation of spirit. What manner of intervention might this be?

An angel trod the furnace, guarding the intended victims. The three is sued unharmed, the angel vanished on the moment.

We may be certain that this venerable tale, so often told and retold in mitigation of the fury of tyrants, reaffirmed the faith of the suffering servants of God.

Faith be it noted, not only that God is mindful and caring for Her own. A faith that affirms God's care even for the benighted, beleaguered victim of his own idolatries. The king, the one

who in the final instance, has no other access to truth, except—his victims.

They prevail; not only on their own behalf, but on his also.

The astonishing outcome of the story includes not only the miraculous survival of the three youths. We ponder also the king's spectacular change of heart. There is hope, even for him, the story says; Nebuchadnezzar went up to the door of the blazing furnace and called out; 'Servants of the supreme God, come out!' And they came out at once...The king said; 'Praised be God, who sent an angel and rescued those who serve and trust. They disobeyed my order and risked their lives rather than bow down and worship any god except their own... (Daniel 3:26-29)

In November of '02, our family celebrated what proved to be a final liturgy in Syracuse with our beloved Philip. In course of that Eucharist, the question arose; taking in account our leaders, their bristling weaponry, their ruinous wars in fact or prospect—what action was required of Christians? Philip responded simply, "We pray for them, and we resist them." Which is our continuing task, in his honor.  $\Omega$ 

Dan Berrigan is a Jesuit priest, poet, resister, author, and friend of all who struggle for justice and peace.

# ON THE LINE

#### PROBATION HEARING

Fran Fuller, from the Des Moines Catholic Worker, and Brian Terrell, from Catholic Peace Ministry, will appear before a Polk County District Judge on August 1 for failing to pay probation fees. Both were arrested at an anti-war demonstration last November 2 at Camp Dodge. Fran and Brian do not intend to pay the required \$280 fee, and face up to 30 days in jail. For information, call 515-282-4781.

#### PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

On July 21, over a dozen masked Haitian police officers arrested Catholic priest Gérard Jean-Juste, "for his own protection." Fr. Jean-Juste is a strong, outspoken supporter of overthrown Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

While in custody, Fr. Jean-Juste was accused of murder, though he was out of the country at the time the crime occurred. He remains in custody. Amnesty International has designated Fr. Jean-Juste a "Prisoner of Conscience."

---www.commondreams.org

#### **COURT-MARTIAL**

On July 28, Sgt. Kevin Benderman received a dishonorable discharge, was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment, and was demoted to Private for refusing to return to Iraq with his Army unit. Benderman refused to go on a second combat tour in January, saying, "The destruction and misery I witnessed during the 2003 invasion turned me against the war."

--www.commondreams.org

#### U.S. versus VITW

On July 6, Kathy Kelly and Voices in the Wilderness (VITW) were back in federal court. The U.S. Treasury and Office of Foreign Assets Control is continuing efforts to collect a \$20,000 fine for VITW's "criminal" behavior—taking medicine to children in Iraq in the 1990's.

The court has decided to continue the case in an effort to discern whether the more than four year delay in seeking fines was "prompt," as required by regulations. The next court date is expected to be some time in early August.

--www.vitw.org

#### **RAGING GRANNIES**

Five elderly members of an anti-war group called Raging Grannies of Tucson were arrested on July 13 for entering a Tucson recruitment center and refusing to leave. The five women, in their 60's and 70's, entered "to enlist so our grandchildren can come home."

—news.bbc.co.uk

#### STARVING IRAQIS

In Iraq, malnutrition rates in children under five have nearly doubled since the U.S. invasion, to nearly 8%, according to the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Worldwide, some 17,000 children die each day from preventable, hunger-related disease.

-news.bbc.co.uk

#### TROOP MENTAL DISORDERS

According to an Army Surgeon General report, 30% of the troops returning from Iraq developed mental problems after three to four months. Five percent are diagnosed with significant mental health issues immediately upon leaving Iraq.

—www.truthout.org

#### PESTICIDE POISONING

According to a report by the National Institute for Occupational Safety, pesticide use sickened more than 2,5000 school children and school employees over a five-year period. Contaminants include chemicals to kill insects and weeds on schools grounds, disinfectants, and farming pesticides that drift over nearby schools. Texas has the highest number of victims.

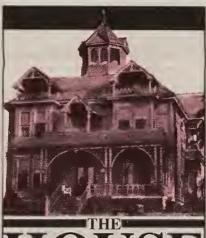
-www.truthout.org

#### SPLIT VERDICT

A split verdict was reached in the trial of Gary Ashbeck and Susan Crane, both of Jonah House in Baltimore, who were arrested at an antiwar demonstration in front of the White House last December 29. Gary's case ended in a mistrial, and Susan was found not guilty. Both had entered the White House grounds by following a delivery-man after the security gate opened.

—www.jonahhouse.org

On The Line is compiled and edited by Mike Wisniewski.



## HOUSE JOURNAL

Our interns arrived in the last weekend of June: Bob Beckett, Elizabeth Boren, Jacob Brown, Viola Engels, Elizabeth Henricks, and Thi Trinh. They are a wonderful addition to our community!

During the summer program, we invite some of our friends to come and speak to the interns. We were blessed to have Fr. Steve Kelly come to one of our Bible studies and celebrate mass with us. The interns and our community were very inspired by his stories of activism and resistance. Wes Howard-Brook and Sue Ferguson Johnson spoke to us about "leaving empire." Ched Myers drove in from his new digs in Oak View to lead our group in Bible study. He gave an insightful overview of scripture and shared visions about his own community, newly forming. Jonathan Parfrey and Dan Hirsch, leaders in the fight for nuclear abolition, gave us background information to help us prepare for our trip to the Test Site in Nevada on the 60th anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Alice Callaghan joined us for a culture cri-



LACW and friends leaving for Patty's party. Back row: Jesse & Martha Lewis, Jacob Brown, Sara Suman, Elizabeth Henricks, Jeff Dietrich, Thi Trinh, Clare Bellefeuille-Rice, Gustavo Monzon, & Viola Engels. Front: David Gardner, Sheila McCarthy, Ann Mulder, Bob Beckett, & Angi Brzycki.

tique where she reviewed the history of L.A.'s Skid Row, and Blase Bonpane joined us one afternoon to talk about his experiences as a Maryknoll priest in Central America and his continuing work as a dedicated peace and justice activist.

Fr. Greg Boyle led a wonderful

Wednesday night liturgy. He spoke about how everyone is special and important, even the most denigrated and despised members of society—gang-affiliated youth. At the end of the mass, Sheena Tseko and former community member Jorge Manly Gil, received a blessing and send-off. Sheena and Jorge will be joining Manuel Hernandez as they begin their Catholic Worker project in Mexico. We pray they will be successful in their new endeavor.

Lest anyone think that we are all work and no play here at the LACW, this summer has been full of picnics, parties, and special events. A few times each summer, we rent a bus and take 50 of our friends from Skid Row to the lovely green and golden hills of Griffith Park where everyone enjoys hiking, games, and rest. The day ends with an excellent picnic feast of super-sized hot dogs, meaty



Summer Intern Elizabeth Boren pauses for a laugh while preparing for summer picnic.

chili beans, Jesse Lewis' famous potato salad, mouth-watering watermelon, and ice-cold lemonade punch. Thank you to all who helped make these picnics possible.

On July 25, our guest Olga married her long-time friend Polo Leal, and the reception was held at our backyard, which has never looked lovelier. Members of the Hennacy House Band, with the addition of Viola Engels on fiddle, played, and a wonderful time was had by all.

This summer, long-time volunteers, Tom and Jan Honoré hosted a wonderful 4th of July party, and Mary Nalick and Patty Carmody gave us lovely pool parties as well. Thank you!

We were an enthusiastic audience for a preview of a knew Dorothy Day documentary film, written and directed by Claudia Larsen. Over the last 14 years, Claudia has interviewed dozens of people who knew Dorothy and the Catholic Worker movement. Everyone is sure that the film will be a big hit when it is distributed.

Throughout the whole year, we have been blessed with the presence of many young people from the Jesuit Volunteer Corps and the Vincentian Volunteers. The youthful enthusiastic energy of these wonderful folks has contributed much to our work and our celebrations. As a parting gift the day after he and his fellow Vincentians received a farewell blessing at their final liturgy, John Connors cooked us an extraordinarily delicious meal of Cajun BBQ shrimp, polenta, and braised collard greens. YUMM!!!

David went to court on July 7, for what he thought would be a routine appearance before formal sentencing, but, unexpectedly, the judge decided to go ahead and give him two days in jail for his protest at the downtown federal building on the second anniversary of the Iraq War. Though he was in and out before we knew it, we are thankful that he returned safely to us. Catherine Morris, who also took part in the same civil disobedience action, was sentenced on August 3, and was given a seven day sentence. She just came home this afternoon and she is glad to be back.

We recently started a lender library for our guests at the kitchen who sometimes find it difficult to make use of the regular library, which requires ID's and doesn't allow backpacks. Kitchen volunteer John Owen was kind enough to give us an enormous bookcase, and many other volunteers have donated plenty of books. Our friends LOVE it!

House Journal was written by Faustino Cruz.



### BECOME AN LACW VOLUNTEER

Live out the Gospel, meet new friends, and chop about 25 heads of lettuce all before 1PM. How can you do all this? Just come down to our kitchen at 7:45AM on a Tues., Thurs., or Saturday morning, wear clothes you can spill some soup on, and be ready to stay until 12:45PM. One or two people, just come on down; three or more, please call us in advance. For more info and driving directions please call us at (323) 267-8789 or see *lacatholicworker.org* 

## STOP THE WAR IN IRAQ

Sept. 24, 12 noon, Olympic & Broadway. National march in Los Angeles.

For more info call (323) 464-1636
or see *AnswerLA.org* 

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# VANDENBERG AFB SAT OCT 8 1PM - 3PM At the front gate

Join the LACW, Women's Intl League for Peace & Freedom, and the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space as we continue our peace protest at Vandenberg. For more info call (831) 754-5554 or see *vpeaceldf.org* 



#### SISTER HOUSE NETWORK:

LOS ANGELES CATHOLIC WORKER:

http://lacatholicworker.org

- Ammon Hennacy House of Hospitality 632 N. Brittania St., Los Angeles, CA 90033 (323) 267-8789
- Hospitality Kitchen
   E. 6th St., Los Angeles, CA 90021
   614-9615

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST HOUSE OF HOSPITALITY 500 W. Van Buren St., Las Vegas, NV 89106 (702) 647-0728

ISAIAH HOUSE OF HOSPITALITY

316 S. Cypress Ave., Santa Ana, CA 92701

(714) 835-6304

SADAKO SASAKI HOUSE OF HOSPITALITY 1321 W. 38th St., Norfolk, VA 23508

1321 W. 38th St., Norfolk, VA 23508 (757) 423-5420

ST. PETER CLAVER HOUSE OF HOSPITALITY

430 W. Jefferson St., Philadelphia, PA 19122 (215) 232-7823

HOUSE OF GRACE CATHOLIC WORKER

1826 E. Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19125

(215) 426-0364

PETER MAURIN CATHOLIC WORKER

1149 Crestwood St., San Pedro, CA 90732

KIERAN PRATHER HOUSE OF HOSPITALITY

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